OBJECTIONS

TO THE

WAR

EXAMINED AND REFUTED.

BY A FRIEND TO PEACE.

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Samuelis A. Eliot
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IF, in our reaſonings upon the ſubject of the preſent War, we would avoid error, it is neceſſary to keep in conſtant remembrance that the War itſelf differs ſo eſſentially from all former Wars as to have little in common with them but the name. In every period of the World States have been obliged to reſort to hoſtilities to repel Ambition, to reſiſt Injuſtice, to preſerve Religion or Independence. An Enemy of a new kind has lately riſen up—one who fights not merely to ſubdue States, but to diſſolve Society—not to extend Empire, but to ſubvert Government—not to introduce a particular Religion, but to extirpate all Religion. The principles which lead to ſuch conſequences are not perhaps entirely new; but it is alike new and alarming to ſee them acquire ſuch an influence as to be able, by the aid of the French Revolution, to direct the force of a country like France, and to turn that force againſt the whole World. In the natural impulſe which leads to reſiſtance for the ſake of preſervation, and in the union which ariſes from a ſenſe of common

danger,

danger, may be found the true principle of the War, and of the extenſive alliances by which it is ſupported.

It is perhaps as remarkable as any other circumſtance of the War, that in the various States which are now defending their exiſtence there ſhould be found perſons, who, without being able to plead indigence as an excuſe for deſperation, oppoſe ſo neceſſary a defence, and who contend that it ſhould not have been undertaken; and being undertaken, that it ſhould be abandoned. To counteract ſuch aſſertions, and to refute the inſidious reaſonings by which they are ſupported, is the principal deſign of the following Pages. The nature of the ſubject led to a greater latitude of diſcuſſion than was at firſt propoſed—till at length, by a tranſition perfectly natural, the War preſented itſelf in its connection with *the future repoſe and ſecurity of* EUROPE, and ſuggeſted the enquiry how it ſhould be made to conduce to the attainment of thoſe its eſſential objects.

OBJECTIONS

TO THE

WAR, &c.

EVERY friend to humanity muſt admit that it is high time to put an end to the anarchy of France, which has proved ſo grievous a ſcourge, not only to that unfortunate country, but alſo to the reſt of Europe! It is evidently impoſſible to attain this deſirable and neceſſary object, unleſs by means of that War which has been ſo raſhly and unjuſtly provoked, and of which the ſucceſſes already afford the greateſt encouragement to purſue it with vigour and alacrity. There are, notwithſtanding, perſons to be found of ſo perverſe a diſpoſition as to deprecate the ſucceſs of this War, and to endeavour, by a variety of ſpecious but abſurd reaſonings, to counteract its operations, to impede its progreſs, and to bring it to a premature concluſion.

THESE

These perſons take an ungenerous advantage of the diſpoſition of mankind for the bleſſings of peace, in order to create a reſtleſsneſs and impatience under the War *. They are clamorous for a ſpeedy accommodation, and although the moſt ſolemn treaty would afford no ſecurity, they aſſert that the juſt objects of the War are fully obtained. It would be well if they would tell us with whom we are to treat for peace—which of the factions or clubs we ſhould addreſs upon the occaſion;—whether the Girondiſts or the Maratiſts—the Mountain, or the Valley—the Feuillans, the Jacobins, or the Cordeliers—the Anarchiſts or the Federaliſts. As to the Sovereign People, they are (unleſs we except the unbreeched part of them), after four years exerciſe of their Sovereignty, juſt as much out of the queſtion as ever. It will be ſaid, perhaps, that the Convention and the Executive Council are the proper bodies to negociate with; but the Convention and the Executive Council are themſelves governed by the prevailing faction of the day. In truth, all idea of negociation is abſurd: for a treaty, which is the ſole object of nego-

* Even the Pulpit has been applied to the baſe purpoſe of attempting to ſeduce the liſtening and unreflecting ſoldier from his duty, and to excite him to diſcontent and mutiny.

ciation,

ciation, implies the exiſtence of two ſolid parties, reciprocally bound, and able to enforce and guaranty their reſpective ſtipulations. But in the preſent inſtance, the engagement would be all on one ſide. There would in effect be but one contracting party. The eſtabliſhed Governments of Europe can indeed lawfully and validly engage for their reſpective States; but where is the Government to engage for or to bind France? The lawleſs ruffians who to-day are uppermoſt, may to-morrow be themſelves the victims of a new Revolution—and their ſucceſſors, far from recognizing their acts, may denounce them for having treated with Tyrants, as their greateſt crime. In ſhort, the fluctuating ſtate of France defies all calculation as to events, and forbids all confidence in aſſurances or engagements *.

But an accommodation with theſe wretches, ſuppoſing them to be fixed in their ill-gotten

* The Government of this Country has been cenſured for not being ready to treat with every faction the moment its ſucceſsful crimes gave it aſcendancy. — Thoſe who urge ſuch cenſure do not heſitate to avow the principle, that whoever holds the reins of power (however obtained) is proper to be negociated with. If this pliant and accommodating policy had been adopted by Great Britain, ſhe muſt lately have formed a great variety of engagements, from each of which ſhe would have been ſpeedily releaſed by the downfal of the other high contracting party.

power,

power, ſecure againſt all internal cauſes of change, is forbidden by every principle of policy as well as honour. Who that knows their hiſtory, their character, their principles, and their crimes, would recognize their uſurpation—confirm their authority — or truſt to their faith? Pacification with ſuch a foe would be ſuicide—it would be to court, nay to embrace deſtruction. Shall the Monarchs of Europe treat with thoſe who ſeek to extirpate Monarchy *? Shall the Powers who fight to ſecure the laws of Nations and the faith of Treaties treat with thoſe who laugh at the authority of both? Theſe ſanguinary uſurpers are fully and juſtly ſenſible that there is no ſafety for them but in the deſtruction of all the eſtabliſhed Governments of Europe; they have therefore vowed to accompliſh that deſtruction. And ſurely thoſe Governments

* The Monarchs engaged in the War certainly ſhould not forget that (beſides the many menaces which have been thrown out againſt them throughout the Revolution) the National Convention, on the 25th of Auguſt 1792, did actually paſs a decree to raiſe a body of 1200 aſſaſſins, to be named *tyrannicides*, who were to be bound by an oath to deſtroy the Monarchs and Generals at war with France. This horrid plan was actually decreed, but was afterwards referred to a Committee, on a ſuggeſtion that it might occaſion repriſals: it was propoſed by the *virtuous* Jean de Brie, who with his brother Deputy Cochon had lately the good fortune to be permitted to eſcape from Valenciennes.

ought,

bught, on their part, to be alike ſenſible that there can be no ſecurity for them, nor of courſe for their States, until their implacable and inveterate foe be demoliſhed.

But here the opponents of the War change their ground, and, affecting the utmoſt deteſtation of the monſters who tyrannize over France, diſclaim all idea of alliance, accommodation, or even communication, with ſuch wretches. They now propoſe ſimply to diſcontinue the War, to withdraw our forces, and to leave France to herſelf. Such an idea is, if poſſible, a greater inſult on common ſenſe than even that of a pacification. Shall we ſuffer a Power which is unfit for alliance or amity with any civilized State to eſtabliſh its dominion over a country like France?—Shall we tamely look on while that Power renders itſelf ſtill more formidable, and perhaps irreſiſtible? To do this in any caſe would be the moſt egregious folly; but to do it after the experience we have had of the evils inſeparable from the exiſtence of ſuch a Power, would be a degree of folly for which it would be difficult to find an adequate expreſſion. It is impoſſible to doubt that if, *re infectâ*, an end were put to hoſtilities, our perfidious adverſaries would ſeize the firſt opportunity of reſuming their former plans of univer-

ſal aggreſſion and confuſion. It is by War alone that they can be reſiſted. Relieved from that preſſure they would ſoon renew their fraternizing incurſions, and with renovated vigour and increaſed animoſity would again moleſt other countries both by their principles and their arms. Would it be prudent to rely on a change in their ſyſtems, their diſpoſitions, or their views?—Is there any reaſon to expect that thoſe who in the autumn of 1792, in contempt both of treaties and neutrality, carried their invaſion to the coaſt of Holland, and who propoſed (before they were at war with us) to plant on Britiſh ſoil the Tree of Liberty, to fix the tri-colour flag on the Tower of London, and to pour in fifty thouſand Caps of Liberty, ſhould at once be metamorphoſed into peaceable unoffending neighbours? What ſymptoms are there of ſuch a change, and what can produce it? Would they learn moderation from ſucceſs, and begin to reſpect their enemies when they have reaſon to think themſelves invincible? No. The nature of Anarchy is immutable—it can never ceaſe to be reſtleſs, turbulent, and encroaching. Its neighbourhood is contagious, its atmoſphere peſtilential, its fraternity deſtructive. If therefore the War were to be diſcontinued, the ſame evils which gave riſe to it would recur with accelerated violence,

violence, while our means of encountering them would be greatly diminiſhed. We ſhould not only abandon the advantages already obtained, and loſe the fruits of all our paſt exertions, but we ſhould be in a more exhauſted ſtate than when the conteſt was begun. Our reſources, our confidence, and our energy diminiſhed—our adverſary emboldened and invigorated—and the ſeeds of internal commotion, which exiſt in every body politic, cheriſhed and expanded, it would be too much to hope that under ſuch circumſtances we ſhould again eſcape. The diſeaſe, which is now in a fair way of being eradicated, would probably be fatal in its relapſe; the War is the only remedy for that diſeaſe; and by diſcontinuing the War we ſhould attain no better chance for peace than a ſick man would derive for the recovery of his health from abandoning the neceſſary means of cure.

In purſuit of the inſidious attempt to excite a diſſatisfaction with the War, and to render it unpopular, nothing which is capable of perverſion and miſapplication is ſuffered to eſcape notice. The diſtreſſes and dangers which are inſeparable from a ſtate of War are painted in the moſt glowing colours—the ever-lively apprehenſions of the merchant and the manufacturer are pathe-

tically addreſſed, and the moſt alarming ſcenes are diſplayed to their ſuſceptible minds. The ſhock which always attends the breaking out of War is inſidiouſly expatiated upon with a kind of malignant ſatisfaction, and it is taken for granted, that the progreſs of it muſt inevitably ſwallow up both credit, commerce, and manufactures; while not a ſuppoſition is beſtowed upon the dangers to which theſe important intereſts would have been expoſed, if the Councils and the Arms of Great Britain had not reſiſted the univerſally deſtructive ſchemes of Republican France, who, previouſly to the War, anticipated the overthrow of our Conſtitution, and from the boſom of the Convention addreſſed Engliſh traitors as Brother Republicans. Beſides the inconveniences which may fairly be aſcribed to the War, it is alſo charged with embarraſſments produced by other cauſes. Incredible pains are taken to make it appear reſponſible for every misfortune which occurs, and the melancholy liſt of bankruptcies with which for ſome time our Gazettes were clouded, is without heſitation placed to that account. But the recovery of credit *flagrante bello* affords the beſt anſwer to ſuch inſinuations. The Gazettes, which happily no longer afford even this apparent ground of triumph, vindicate the war from the aſperſion, and demonſtrate

ſtrate that the late commercial failures aroſe from another ſource. Indeed it has long been the opinion of intelligent men, that the wonderful increaſe of paper currency, deſtitute of any adequate or even proportionate ſecurity, would ſooner or later produce a convulſion ſimilar to that which commercial credit has actually experienced. Public credit is as falſely ſaid to have received an alarming wound in conſequence of the War; and in a recent Publication, which ſeems chiefly to have for its object to confound reaſon and to diſguiſe truth *, it is aſſerted that the value of the public ſecurities has been leſſened by the War almoſt fifty millions! Here again obvious facts furniſh a full refutation of ſuch aſſertions. Upon examining the price of the public funds in the beginning of January laſt, before the War broke out, and in the beginning of September, the ſeventh month of its continuance (notwithſtanding the intermediate diſtreſs of private credit), we ſhall find that a difference of about *two per cent.* denotes *the tremendous effect of this ruinous War, down to the latter period.*

But however eaſy it may be to detect ſuch groſs miſrepreſentations, it is not merely on the ground

* A Letter addreſſed to Mr. Pitt under the ſignature of "Jasper Wilson, Eſq."

of

of that detection that the vindication of the War is meant to reſt; otherwiſe there would be abundant occaſion to employ much more time in that way. There is indeed every reaſon to hope that the War, at a very ſmall comparative expence, will not only effectually ward off thoſe dangers which cannot be averted by other means, but that it will alſo procure to this country a better ſecurity for its repoſe and tranquillity than it has ever yet enjoyed. But ſuppoſing that the price of theſe advantages ſhould be equal to what is maliciouſly ſtated as likely to be incurred; ſuppoſing the War had already produced all the evils of which it is falſely alledged to be the cauſe, and that it would probably occaſion all thoſe which are predicted of its reſult (a ſuppoſition ſurely enough exaggerated), ſtill we ſhould have no occaſion to reproach ourſelves on this account. We might indeed find our reſentments heightened, and our deteſtation increaſed againſt that widely deſtructive ſyſtem of ravage, which, iſſuing from the French Revolution, had in its ruinous ſweep involved us in ſo many misfortunes. We ſhould, however, in the diminution of our proſperity, have ſtill the conſolation to reflect, that having preſerved our Conſtitution and our National Character (cauſes which, operating upon our natural and local advantages,

vantages, had been the chief ſources of our greatneſs), we might hope to emerge from our diſtreſs, and become again a flouriſhing people. Whereas, on the other hand, if we had ſubmitted to the inſults of France, and declined to contribute our exertions toward checking the progreſs of its armies and its principles, there is no room to doubt that our allies would have been long ſince overwhelmed — the greateſt part of Europe over-run—its balance entirely deſtroyed—its Governments overthrown — and its States broken up and converted into French Departments. Theſe are events which are neither ſuggeſted by timidity, nor feigned by imagination—Realized in a great meaſure before we were engaged in hoſtilities, their completion was advancing with haſty ſtrides, and ſeemed to preſage a deſtruction which could never have been effected by French arms, if they had not been dipped in the ſubtle poiſon of French principles. Let the opponents of the War point out by what means we ſhould have eſcaped the general wreck. Let them tell us how we ſhould have been preſerved amidſt ſurrounding ruin. They affect, in prudent compliance with the general and genuine ſentiment of the nation, an attachment to the Britiſh Conſtitution: they would not have

ſcrupled,

ſcrupled, however, to expoſe this valuable object of their regard and admiration to the above perils. Happily its preſervation was not entruſted to them. Such friendſhip as theirs would furniſh but a precarious dependence in a moment of danger :

Non tali auxilio—nec defenſoribus iſtis
Tempus eget———

To prevent, however, a cataſtrophe which would have excluded every ray of hope and of conſolation, we have not been allowed an opportunity to claim even the negative merit of reſorting to hoſtilities. For notwithſtanding all the cenſure which is caſt upon the War, it is a fact of unqueſtionable notoriety, that the impatient fury of French Demagogues did not allow us the option of peace, but eager to involve us, as well as the reſt of Europe, in like confuſion with their own country, actually commenced the War by an act of the groſſeſt perfidy ; a circumſtance of which their advocates are remarkably forgetful.

It is indeed curious to obſerve how very partial and ſcanty a ſurvey is taken of the War, by thoſe who ſeek to make it a ſource of popular diſcon-

tent.

tent. They ſee nothing of its numerous and aggravated provocations — of the inſults and dangers which preceded it *—of the inevitability which marked its eruption—of the advantages which accompany its progeſs—nor of the important and indiſpenſable objects which depend upon its final ſucceſs. All theſe things entirely eſcape their notice: they can only diſcover its perils, its difficulties, its ſcenes of calamity and diſtreſs. Here indeed they can expatiate with an appearance of ſenſibility which would almoſt induce one to ſuppoſe them ſincere; and ſhould a check or diſaſter occur, their grief is clamorous, and knows no bounds. In the vehemence of their lamentations, they magnify the misfortune vaſtly beyond its real extent or its probable conſequences.—They are inveterate againſt Miniſters and officers, and, in ſhort, againſt every one (excepting the enemy) who can directly or indirectly be dragged into the queſtion. Nay ſo violently are they affected, that although the very next day the misfortune ſhould be not only remedied, but alſo ſkilfully improved to advantage, they can-

* The remarkable events which introduced the War are ſo fully diſplayed in a recent Work entitled "THE "REAL GROUNDS OF THE PRESENT WAR," as to render it unneceſſary to expatiate here upon that ſubject.

not ſo ſoon recover their wonted ſerenity. Some, indeed, want the decency even to aſſume a maſk of ſorrow on ſuch occaſions, and are ſo dead to all ſenſe of ſhame as well as of patriotiſm, as openly to exult and triumph in the misfortunes of their country.

ALAS! we know already, without their aſſiſtance, that War is unavoidably attended with much danger, difficulty, and inconvenience; that it is a nauſeous as well as a violent remedy: but it is a remedy which is become neceſſary for our own preſervation, as well as for the reſtoration of general ſecurity againſt the enemies of order, morality, religion, ſociety, and humanity. Whoever attempts to oppoſe the purſuit, or to impede the ſucceſs of ſuch a War, is a confederate with the monſters againſt whom it is carried on, and like them is a diſgrace to human nature. But he muſt entertain a very contemptible and injurious opinion of the people of this country who ſuppoſes that any artifice, miſrepreſentation, or ſophiſtry, can abate their ardour in a ſtruggle, upon the ſucceſs of which the preſervation of every thing dear to them depends. We know the value of the intereſts we have at ſtake, and ſhall grudge neither exertion nor expence to ſecure

cure them—We ſhall neither repine at our burthens, ſhould they be neceſſarily augmented, nor deſpond upon thoſe occaſional diſaſters to which a ſtate of hoſtilities is expoſed. Our gracious Sovereign does not heſitate to expoſe the lives of his ſons in the cauſe of his people; while theſe illuſtrious princes, with a courage truly heroical, face the greateſt dangers, and in defending the cauſe, add to the laurels of their country. Who ſhall be inſenſible of the influence of ſo bright an example? Where ſhall be found the Engliſhman ſo degenerate as to be backward to aſſiſt with chearful patriotiſm, in his perſon or in his ſubſtance, the ſame glorious cauſe? Every claſs and every rank is alike intereſted; for it is the welfare of all which has been endangered, and which is to be ſecured *. The Merchant, the

* The French Revolution began by attacking the Monarch, the Nobles, and the Clergy; and thoſe neceſſary orders were called upon throughout Europe to view the example with jealouſy and alarm. But the danger was by no means peculiar to them. When the rights of the upper ranks are made the ſport of popular fury and outrage, the ſecurity of other claſſes has but a precarious and ſhort-lived exiſtence. The progreſs of the Revolution completely verifies this remark. We now ſee property of every ſpecies, public and private, pillaged with as little ceremony as that of the Church and the Nobility was at firſt. The principle of univerſal plunder, which was then only in embryo, is now arrived at full maturity,

Manufacturer, the Peaſant, the Land owner, and the Noble—all perſons of every deſcription are concerned to ſupport, to the utmoſt of their power, a conteſt with the common enemy of mankind. If any one individual among his Majeſty's ſubjects is more intereſted than the reſt in reſtoring and ſecuring to this Country the bleſſings of peace, it is the man who by his talents and exertions has raiſed it from diſtreſs to proſperity. It cannot but excite general ſatisfaction and confidence to ſee the helm of ſtate continued, at a juncture like the preſent, in hands where the Royal diſcernment ſo judiciouſly and advantageouſly placed it

maturity, and publicly avowed, without a bluſh, in the Convention—where Danton has declared that the people muſt be excited to vengeance againſt the Rich, and where the ſame blood-thirſty demagogue has denounced the "Ariſtocracy of Trade" as a proper ſubject of depredation, and one of his infamous colleagues has avowed it to be neceſſary "to con-"vince the Merchants that France could do without them." Public bodies are not more ſecure than individuals, and the property of the Eaſt India Company and of the Caiſſe d'Eſcompte is confiſcated upon the moſt abſurd pretences: — nay even agricultural property i invaded like the reſt; the whole produce of a harveſt is decreed to belong to the Nation—that is, to thoſe who tyrannize over the Nation; and Robeſpierre, another Conventional Monſter, has declared that the rich farmers muſt be delivered up to the people. While ſuch a ſyſtem continues to prevail in any country, every trader, farmer, and proprietor, in other countries, ought to tremble. To all who wiſh the War to be abandoned before ſuch a ſyſtem is exterminated, it may juſtly be ſaid, "*de te fabula narratur.*"

upwards

upwards of eight years ago. Who can feel ſo great an intereſt to preſerve, as he who has contributed ſo much to reſtore? Where elſe can the juſt poſſeſſion of well-earned fame, and of public favour and gratitude, afford an equal ſecurity for the beſt poſſible application of the national reſources in ſupport of the national honor and intereſts? And while the public need not fear that ſo able and thrifty a ſteward ſhould become improvident, laviſh, and prodigal, they will not wiſh him, by a narrow, ill-timed, and ruinous parſimony, to put it out of his power to perpetuate the benefits of his adminiſtration.

The ſame captious and perverſe diſpoſition which condemns the War in general does not fail to cenſure it in the detail: whatever is done or projected, every plan, every operation is ſure to be wrong.—If we have a fleet in the Mediterranean, it ought to be in the Channel;—and if in the Channel, protecting the trade and the vitals of the country, it ſhould be engaged in the Weſt Indies. If we employ and expoſe our own troops, we are waſteful of Britiſh blood;—and if, to ſupply the limited extent of our land force, we ſubſidize foreign troops, we are laviſh of Britiſh treaſure upon hirelings and mercenaries. Such cen-

cenſures, however, will have but little effect, unleſs they can be accompanied with the charge of carrying on the War with ſupineneſs. While its character is ſpirit and exertion, the Public will feel that it would be illiberal and injurious to decide upon details, upon which, taken ſeparately, no adequate judgment can at preſent be formed.

THE vigorous purſuit of that war which has been ſo unjuſtly and wantonly provoked by France, is as neceſſary as its exiſtence was on our part inevitable. The die is irretrievably caſt, although not thrown by ourſelves: — the Rubicon is long ſince paſſed: and we have been unavoidably brought into a ſituation unknown in the hiſtory of the world. It is not merely for us to conquer or to die— We muſt conquer, or be expoſed to ſuffer an exiſtence infinitely worſe than death—an exiſtence of which an accurate idea can be formed only by attending to the actual ſtate of France.

THE diſingenuous cavillers above alluded to aſk with great ſerioufneſs if the war is meant to be a war of extermination; and they urge that the united force of a country like France, poſſeſſing ſuch immenſe

immenſe reſources, and ſtruggling for its liberties, preſents a degree of reſiſtance that muſt baffle all the exertions of the Combined Powers. The war is certainly a war of extermination; but not in the ſenſe theſe ſophiſts would have us affix to the word: Not a war for the extermination of a people or of their liberties: Not for the extermination of national proſperity or of ſocial happineſs: Its object is to root out a tremendous evil, which oppreſſes and ruins a populous and extenſive Territory, and which menaces the whole human race with a deſtructive and contagious malady: to deſtroy a ſyſtem of licentiouſneſs, diſorganization, and univerſal hoſtility: to ſtifle the turbulent ſpirit, and to cruſh the uſurped and ferocious power by which that ſyſtem is animated and ſuſtained. Theſe are the things which muſt be exterminated before Europe can obtain ſecurity or enjoy repoſe. The Anarchy of France is a deſolating fire, which catches and conſumes whatever is near it. That fire had begun to ſpread to the neighbouring edifices, and at one period menaced all Europe with a general conflagration. By dint of exertion its progreſs has been happily checked, and it has been driven back to the ſpot where it firſt broke out; but what folly would it be to leave it before it is entirely got under! The engines

gines muſt play until this fire be extinguiſhed, or the flames will again burſt forth, and reſume their dreadful ravages.

As to the union and reſources which, it is pretended, preſent ſuch obſtacles to the ſucceſs of the War, Where is that union? What is the ſtate of thoſe reſources? What union is there in France but that of unprincipled wretches, who combine, without either attachment or confidence, for the perpetration of crimes, and who deſtroy each other the moment their intereſts or views are divided? The firſt Revolution diſſolved all union and harmony, by ſetting at variance the various ranks in the State, and by removing all thoſe ties and reſtraints which are neceſſary to connect men in Society. The ſubſequent Revolutions which have torn and diſtracted France, have been nothing elſe than the ſucceſſive victories of contending factions, which have in their turn acquired predominance by force and violence; and, as was to be expected, the moſt ſanguinary of thoſe factions has been ultimately triumphant: each of thoſe Revolutions has brought

"——— Ruin upon Ruin, Rout on Rout,
"Confuſion worſe confounded."

But it is ſaid, that the People, by their ſubmiſſion to ſuch a Government, (if a Government it can be called) ſhew themſelves united in its favour, and determined at all events to ſupport it. Alas! what is that ſubmiſſion but the effect of terror! Often has the generous mind dwelt with horror upon the forced ſubmiſſion of a People to the unfeeling tyranny of a ſingle Deſpot; but what Deſpot was ever half ſo dreadful as the preſent blood-thirſty Rulers of France, who, every where ſpread, are conſtantly ſearching for victims with that Argus-eyed watchfulneſs which can exiſt only in a Republic? They ſcrutinize every word and every action, and want no other evidence of guilt than ſuſpicion! They are moſt waſtefully prodigal of the lives of men, and ſeem to make it their maxim, that too much blood cannot be ſpilt either on the ſcaffold or in the field. Never has human life been held in ſuch low eſtimation as by theſe wretches and their abettors *. When-

* It is remarkable that the pretended Philanthropiſts who are always ſo ſenſibly touched at the idea of the liberty of a ſingle individual being infringed, are able to ſuppreſs their emotions upon the numberleſs lives which have been victims to the Revolution. Do theſe worthy characters think a Revolution ſo good a thing that it cannot be purchaſed at too high a price?

ever their infamous cauſe meets with a diſaſter, they inſtantly wreak their vengeance on defenceleſs victims — they call off the attention of the people by a ſudden burſt of fury, and find their remedy or their conſolation in human ſacrifices. Poſſeſſed of the public force, they convert it into an engine of ſeverity and terror, and they perpetrate their cruelties with a formality which renders them ſtill more ſhocking and atrocious. They chiefly employ perſons of the moſt deſperate and abandoned character—the ready inſtruments of every crime; they have in conſtant pay troops of armed banditti, while the honeſt burgher is kept unarmed; and thus they hold peaceable and virtuous citizens in conſtant awe and ſubjection. They eaſily render the populace (whom, according to the invariable practice of Republicans, they denominate the People *) their dupes and their tools,

* The People, far from exerciſing that Sovereignty with the phantom of which they are flattered and cajoled, have infinitely leſs real influence than they poſſeſſed under their former Monarchy. With the name of freedom in their mouths, and perpetually reſounded in their ears, they are in a ſtate of the vileſt ſubjection and abaſement. To keep up the farce of Republicaniſm, they are made to promote every meaſure projected by their Tyrants; but to refuſe, to oppoſe, or even to heſitate, would be attended with certain and immediate deſtruction. Conſtitution after Conſtitution is therefore readily accepted

tools, and, by inflaming their paſſions and flattering their vanity, excite them to every kind of exceſs. In ſhort, *theſe wretches* cement their dominion by blood, and confound and aſtoniſh by the enormity of their crimes and by the celerity of their maſſacres! But although the inſtruments of death, in conſtant exerciſe, the axe perpetually ſuſpended, reſtrain the unfortunate people from throwing off a Tyranny from which they would rejoice to be delivered, ſcarcely a ſitting paſſes in the Convention, but ſome Department, Diſtrict, or Town is denounced to be in a ſtate of inſurrection or counter-revolution; "the Republic, *one and in-*"*diviſible*," flames out in many parts with Civil War; while the ſtrenuous and ſucceſsful efforts of the Chriſtian and Royal Army in Poitou and Brittany denote the general wiſh of the People to ſee reſtored—the Throne of their King and the Altars of their God!

SUCH is the boaſted Union, which, if we believe the advocates for Anarchy, is to reſiſt and repel the armies of almoſt all Europe. Nor are

cepted by them as ſoon as propoſed. Nor is there any plan, however abſurd or miſchievous, of which their eager acceptance would not be announced by a *general diſcharge of artillery*.

the Reſources which remain in aid of the ſame cauſe more formidable. The impious band which have uſurped the Dominion of France are now making their laſt effort (of which their prepoſterous Decree to raiſe the whole Nation in a maſs leaves no doubt), and have nothing left to defend themſelves with but the ruins of the Country which they have deſolated. To oppoſe the Combined Force which is rapidly advancing towards them with the Sword of Juſtice, they have troops without either diſcipline or experienced commanders, compoſed chiefly of *volunteers* whom force or famine have *compelled* into the ſervice, and who are only ſtimulated to fight by intoxication. They have neither Commerce, Credit, nor *Specie*; they have nothing, in ſhort, to ſupport their drooping cauſe but a Paper Currency, founded upon injuſtice and robbery, ſecured only by a violation of the moſt ſacred Rights of Property, and juſtly diſcredited to the loweſt degree of nominal and fictitious value. With ſuch a paucity of reſources theſe ſpoliators of their Country have plunged into a ſyſtem of expence which affords an admirable ſpecimen of Democratical œconomy, as, according to their own account, they conſume in one month a ſum which nearly equals the annual diſburſements of

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the ſubverted Monarchy ; and in the ſpace of four years they have more than tripled the public debt.

On the other hand are ſeen the gallant Armies of the principal Powers of Europe, led on by the greateſt Generals of the age, diſtinguiſhed alike for their bravery and diſcipline, and vying with each other in their ardour to quell the ſavage hordes which oppoſe them, and to cruſh the common foe to humanity ; an ardour which is participated by the People of every European State ; who have learnt from the ſad experience of the Belgians, the Savoyards, the Citizens of Mentz and other Towns, what miſeries were likely to reſult to other countries from the Gallic ſyſtem of liberty and fraternity. Meanwhile the brilliant and important ſucceſſes of the campaign, the firſt in which the arms of Great Britain have been engaged, call forth univerſal acclamations, and promiſe a complete attainment of all the objects of the war.

The ſame fallacious and ſophiſtical reaſoners before alluded to, in further ſupport of their ſiniſter arguments, affect, with great ſenſibility, to enquire, Whether France is to be again ſubjected

to

to the deſpotic powers of its former Government? But they who are ſo much ſhocked at the idea of the revival of that Government, under which France flouriſhed till 1789, are quite callous and inſenſible with reſpect to the Anarchy which deſolates it in 1793. When, in the hiſtory of the world, did Deſpotiſm reduce a country to a ſituation like that which France now exhibits? When did the oppreſſions of abſolute power bear the leaſt compariſon with the ravages actually produced by Anarchy? In the moſt deſpotic times, men, horſes, and cattle, the hoarded grain, the growing harveſt, were held in ſome eſtimation; the Demagogues who at preſent bear the ſway eſtimate nothing but themſelves, and think no ſacrifice too great to gratify their vengeance or to forward their nefarious projects.

It has been remarked *, in a ſimilar ſtile of reaſoning, that Deſpotiſm has been known to continue without interruption for centuries, but that the reign of Anarchy was never of long duration. True; and the juſtneſs of the remark furniſhes the ſtrongeſt proof that Anarchy is infinitely a greater evil than Deſpotiſm; for the

* By Mr. Fox.

miſeries

miſeries produced by the firſt are ſo intolerable, that human nature is not furniſhed with force long to ſuſtain them. Society cannot ſubſiſt in a ſtate in which it muſt either be relieved or diſſolved. But though the actual exiſtence of Anarchy is brief, its effects are both laſting and extenſive. It not only deſtroys in an incredibly ſmall ſpace of time the accumulated advantages of ages, and makes depredations which ages may be inadequate to repair, but it is a ſpreading and epidemical miſchief infecting every thing within the extent of its influence. Therefore, although we ſhould have no right to diſturb the neighbouring throne of a Prince abſolutely deſpotic, we are not only juſtified, but called upon by motives of ſelf-preſervation to prevent the progreſs, and to deſtroy the exiſtence of anarchy in other countries. And it would be the height of folly to refrain from ſuch interference, under the idea that the evil muſt in time find its own remedy; for before ſuch remedy can take effect, the miſchief may ſpread to ourſelves, and make us the miſerable victims of our raſh confidence and blind ſecurity.

GREAT pains have been taken to render the former Government of France odious, and, by the

the aid of misrepresentation, to induce those who want an opportunity of knowing better, to believe that its powers were absolutely despotic in their nature, and oppressive in their exercise. How many persons have been taught to think that it recognized no rule but the will of one man, and that no essential difference existed between the powers of the French Monarch and those of the Turkish Despot. How astonished would those persons be to learn that throughout the French territories the people were secure of the protection of established laws—that property was acquired, accumulated, and transmitted, without dread or danger of violation—that industry flourished in all its branches—and that cheerfulness, satisfaction, and loyalty, characterized twenty-four millions of people. It is true, abuses had crept in, which, however exaggerated, certainly called for a remedy; but those abuses formed no part of the Constitution; and all ranks, from the Prince to the Peasant, wished for their extermination—and they were no more.

The just and lively sense which we entertain of the inestimable value of that admirable system which in this country unites the blessings of liberty and

good

good Government, diſpoſes us perhaps too eaſily to join in the condemnation of all other forms of Government, and to conſider almoſt every other people as oppreſſed, becauſe they are not privileged like ourſelves. The degree of freedom which in this country is ſalutary, would probably, in another, be pernicious and deſtructive. The limitations which accompany our Monarchy, and which are not only compatible with, but even favourable to, its vigour and energy, would, if impoſed on another Monarchy, produce its ſpeedy ſubverſion. The ſingle circumſtance of our inſular ſituation contributes much to invigorate the Executive Power, and to render its Prerogatives efficacious. Different countries have acquired in the progreſs of time ſuch Conſtitutions * as

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* Thoſe modern Philoſophers who are much employed in making of Conſtitutions, never deſcend ſo low as to conſult Human Nature, or the hiſtory, the national character, the habits, or other local circumſtances of the country they mean to benefit by their labours. In framing of plans for the government (or rather for the confuſion) of mankind, they have no guide but fancy, and they are as wide of each other as of ſenſe and reaſon in their aerial flights. They figure to themſelves ſomething which, with the aſſiſtance of ſelf-love, they conceive to be a model of perfection; and they would not heſitate a moment, at any riſk whatever, to begin the experiment of their crude hypotheſes all over the globe. They know not, or they ſeem not to know, that the Conſtitution of a country is a *relative* thing, the excellence of which does not ſo much depend upon abſtract qualities as upon its ſuitableneſs to the nation to which it apperrains—that upon this important

ſubject

either from natural or habitual cauſes, or more probably from both, are beſt calculated for their

ſubject the moſt pleaſing and ſpecious theories may be not only uſeleſs but miſchievous—and that the ſafe way is to trace cauſes from effects, rather than to conjecture effects from cauſes. The Conſtitution which is ſo juſtly adored in Great Britain would not only be inapplicable to every other nation, but even to the Britiſh people themſelves, if, inſtead of being habitual to them, it were at once attempted to be introduced by way of experiment. Its utility reſults from its being the work of practice and experience, rather than of theory. Having been gradually produced in the ordinary courſe of events, and in the ſlow progreſſion of ages, it is accommodated to the country; and the people, trained up under its influence, acquire congenial habits, and become aſſimilated in their diſpoſitions to its ſpirit and principle; while from this reciprocal effect reſult both energy and harmony. Happy, indeed, is the people whoſe lot it is to inherit ſuch a Conſtitution. But ſurrounding nations will behold it rather with admiration than envy, if they reflect that a common form of government would no more ſuit mankind than a common climate. The Conſtitution of a country is neceſſarily a matter of tardy growth, like the ſpreading oak, which cannot be brought to maturity by forced culture or artificial heat. The greateſt poſſible misfortune for a country is to be without a fixed and ſtable Government, and thoſe who attempt to diſturb ſuch an Inſtitution, in order to make way for untried novelties, are the moſt dangerous foes to ſociety. Any eſtabliſhed ſyſtem which produces the grand object for which Government is eſtabliſhed, by preſerving order, harmony, and repoſe, is infinitely preferable to ſpeculations and changes, which, as has been proved in France, would upon trial only introduce confuſion, and occaſion the loſs of ſubſiſting advantages. Therefore a regular and reſpectful ſubmiſſion to the Powers that are, (that is, thoſe which are permanently eſtabliſhed in a State) is the fundamental principle of ſociety, and the indiſpenſable duty of ſubjects; a duty which is preſcribed both by reaſon and religion—and enforced by the moſt authoritative ſanctions both human and divine.

reſpective circumſtances and ſituations. Thus the Conſtitution of France was adapted to the genius, the manners, and the habits of the people. Even with all its abuſes, it had been proved by long experience to be calculated to make them proſperous and happy; and purified from thoſe abuſes, it would have eſtabliſhed their felicity on a permanent baſis, if the unfortunate Revolution had not intervened. Subſequent experience has afforded additional teſtimony that they are not ſuſceptible of any other form of Government. It was even the object of their attachment and regard,—andwhen,previouſlytothelaſtmeetingof the General States in 1789, they gave free vent to their deliberate and genuine wiſhes, the ſpontaneous voice of the Nation, as expreſſed by mandates to their Repreſentatives, was unanimous for the ſupport and preſervation of the Conſtitution, upon its ancient and fundamental principles. The ſame voice, with equal freedom, and according to immemorial right, repreſented the grievances which had accompanied the adminiſtration of the Government; grievances which the higher orders of the State, the Parliaments, the Nobility, and the ſuperior Clergy, had before manfully and ſtedfaſtly reſiſted.

To find an effectual remedy without unhinging the whole machine, was, however, a matter both nice and arduous; but to find an effectual remedy, the Sovereign was ſtill more anxious than his people. In his Declaration of the 23d of June 1789, he propoſed ſuch remedies as appeared to him judicious and expedient. Happy had it been for France, if its Deputies, inſtead of ſcornfully rejecting that Declaration, had carried it into effect, as far as, being conſiſtent with the principles of the Conſtitution, it contained the Royal confirmation of the general wiſh. But a ſpirit of faction, inſurrection, and rebellion, by means the moſt atrocious, and under profeſſions the moſt artful, ſpecious, and deluſive, uſurped a fatal aſcendancy; and, meeting with a yielding Monarch, too tender and too pliant for the times, ſubverted the Government, burſt aſunder the ties of Society, and rendered France the land of licentiouſneſs and oppreſſion—of wretchedneſs and crimes.

But where, Frenchmen! can you now reſort, except to your ancient Monarchy, for a refuge from the miſeries you now endure, and for a ſecurity againſt their reproduction — where elſe can you hope for that repoſe of which you ſtand

ſtand in ſuch need—where elſe can you expect to find a point of union or a ſource of harmony and order—what other ſyſtem is likely to fix your fluctuating opinions? Has the experience of any one of the plans adopted ſince the Revolution been calculated to recommend its repetition? or would you launch out into the unknown ſea of new ſpeculations? In the name of humanity! an end to ſpeculations. After the ſacrifice they have made of at leaſt a million of victims, and the miſeries they have accumulated upon ſo many millions of wretched ſurvivors, who can entertain a wiſh for freſh ſpeculations? Your lawful Monarchy alone preſents a diſtinct object, a firm reſting place, a ſolid *terra firma*; all elſe is unſubſtantial as air, unſettled as the clouds, and treacherous as quickſands. Let thoſe who wiſh for any other ſyſtem tell you by whom it is to be framed; to what ſtandard it is to be brought; whoſe opinion is to be deciſive in aſcertaining its nature, its limitations, or its extent; by what authority it is to be eſtabliſhed. Alas! ſee you not that the attempt would only prolong your misfortunes?—that it would engender ſchiſms and produce contention when concord is ſo much wanted? For how could you hope for union and harmony when every one would give a looſe to his fancy, and expect his own

own notions to prevail? What but violence could decide between the different opinions that would ariſe? But in your lawful Monarchy, and there alone, may be found a legitimate and honourable title to your ſubmiſſion and allegiance; a title confirmed by the regular and undiſputed poſſeſſion of fourteen centuries, and which, although ſuſpended in its exerciſe by violence and ſucceſsful faction, in point of reaſon and juſtice exiſts with unabated vigour. Yes! Frenchmen, it ſtill exiſts, and if you conſult your hearts you will find it there acknowledged: when freed from the influence of deluſion and momentary frenzy, your underſtanding and your feelings will recognize this title, and prove that the loyalty of Frenchmen is an indelible character in their ſouls. Eſſentially important for your happineſs and proſperity, the rights of your Monarchy are a ſacred and unalienable pledge for your benefit, and can neither be ſurrendered nor deſtroyed. Far from being weakened by the events which preceded, or by thoſe which have accompanied the Revolution, they are, if poſſible, ſtrengthened, and ought to be endeared to you, by thoſe events. They were exerciſed even at the moment of their interruption, in purſuit of the general good; and the martyred Louis, far from affording by

any acts of oppreſſion the leaſt excuſe for reſiſtance to his authority, loſt his crown and his life in endeavouring to make his people happy, and will be diſtinguiſhed in your hiſtory for a reign of unexampled mildneſs and clemency. Could the unjuſt ſufferings, the tragical end of this amiable Prince abſolve you from your allegiance to his ſceptre? See the virtuous Monarch, the affectionate, the once beloved father of his people, expired on the ſcaffold—the victim of foul rebellion and relentleſs barbarity—refuſed in his laſt moments the common privilege of the vileſt malefactors—denied even a parting adieu to the ſurrounding multitude—precipitated into eternity with the unfiniſhed prayer ſtill quivering on his lips—his royal head held up to public view by rebel hands, and inſultingly declared the head of a Tyrant—his bleeding corpſe caſt with indignity into the neareſt burying-place, without a ſingle form of religious rites, or even of decent ſepulture—and haſtily conſumed, leſt ſome loyal ſympathizing tear ſhould fall upon the ſenſeleſs clay. Surely the review of ſuch a ſcene as this, while it rouſes your juſt vengeance againſt its foul perpetrators, muſt rivet your attachment and fidelity to that hitherto unfortunate Prince the ſon of your murdered Monarch—the deſcendant of your Fourth Henry—the rightful Repreſentative

of

of the French Monarchy, whoſe early misfortunes and intereſting innocence muſt melt into pity the hardeſt heart. In that fatherleſs Prince, miraculouſly preſerved amidſt ſo many dangers, but ſtill waſting his youthful days in gloomy captivity, behold your LIEGE SOVEREIGN; render to him the homage of your hearts; the tribute of your affectionate loyalty, and you are again a happy people. Thank Heaven that you may yet hope to expiate in the perſon of the ſon, the injuries of the father. Trained in the inſtructive ſchool of Adverſity, his mind will have acquired qualities, by the aid of which France may hereafter emerge from diſtreſs and wretchedneſs to proſperity. Early impreſſed with the dying injunctions of his Royal Parent, he will, from ſo ineſtimable a legacy, learn the beſt art of reigning. Read, Frenchmen, the Teſtament of Louis XVI. and ſee therein bequeathed to you a King, who will ſeek his glory in his people's welfare, and render the name of Bourbon more than ever cheriſhed and adored.

BUT in recognizing with loyal fervour the title of your lawful Sovereign, you ſurely cannot wiſh to ſee him mount that baſeleſs Conſtitutional Throne from which his father was conducted to the

the ſcaffold. Far better and kinder would it be to make him at once an additional victim to that Revolution which has drenched your land with blood. The title which he inherits, and which your repoſe and happineſs require you to acknowledge, is not to that unſubſtantial Crown fancifully conſtructed by the Conſtituent Aſſembly to ſuit the phantom of Royalty which they ſet up, but to the Crown of his anceſtors—your lawful Sovereigns from the foundation of the Monarchy. It is the ſolid Throne whereon they ſat, and from which they raiſed the Kingdom to what it was four years ago; that he is entitled to aſcend—there to govern, not deſpotically, but according to known and fundamental laws, and in connection with the intermediate and ſubordinate powers which were inherent in the Conſtitution, and which are neceſſary to ſupport his Throne, while at the ſame time they limit his authority. If you wiſh to prolong your misfortunes, and to put the recovery of peace, order, and tranquillity out of the reach of the preſent generation, there is a ſure and direct way to do this—namely, to recur to the metaphyſical form of Government invented by that uſurping Aſſembly which diſobeyed your mandates by ſubverting the Conſtitution, inſtead of co-operating with a willing Monarch in the reformation of its

abuſes. The members of that Aſſembly were choſen by yourſelves to act as the lawful States of the Nation. Influenced by cabal and faction, they exchanged their only lawful title of "States General" for that of "National Aſſembly," and, aſſuming powers which you never gave them, deſtroyed the ſyſtem which they were deputed to preſerve; and in its place they ſet up a creature of their own fancy, which they called a Conſtitution:

"*Monſtrum horrendum informe ingens cui lumen ademptum.*"

Thinking themſelves wiſer than all the world, they pretended to eſtabliſh a Monarchy upon principles which had ever been conſidered as incompatible with Monarchical Government. If they had attended to the writings of one of your greateſt men, an ornament to literature and to genius, and a much more real, becauſe a more rational friend to liberty than themſelves, they would have learned from the celebrated Monteſquieu, that an order of Nobility was indiſpenſable to the exiſtence of Monarchy*. But theſe

* *Les pouvoirs intermédiaires ſubordonnés & dépendans conſtituent la nature du Gouvernement Monarchique, c'eſt-à-dire, de celui où un ſeul gouverne par des loix fondamentales. Le pouvoir intermédiaire ſubordonné le plus naturel eſt celui de la Nobleſſe. Elle entre en quelque façon dans l'eſſence de la Monarchie, dont la maxime fondamentale eſt,* POINT DE MONARQUE, POINT DE NOBLESSE: POINT DE NOBLESSE, POINT DE MONARQUE, MAIS ON A UN DESPOTE. *Eſprit des Lois.*

opiniated

opiniated Legiſlators began by withdrawing from the Throne its ancient and neceſſary pillars, and demoliſhing the order of Nobility—the ſame inſtant the Monarchy fell. They pretended, however, to erect another Monarchy, which had no other ſupport than the caprice of the moment, and in which, inſtead of placing the Sovereign at the head of the Nation, they ſet the people who were to be governed above the Monarch, by decreeing the Sovereignty to be in them. The reſult has been exactly ſuch as might have been expected, except that the human mind had not powers given it by nature to imagine any thing half ſo dreadful—An ideal metaphyſical Government made way for the deſtruction of all Government :—a ſpeculative democratical Monarchy led to Republican Anarchy, which could never have been brought about by other means : —and the abſurd incoherent Conſtitution of 1789 was the root of that fatal tree of falſe liberty and real licentiouſneſs, the ramifications of which have ſpread deſolation and ruin over your country. Among thoſe who contributed in the firſt inſtance to bring about ſuch calamities, were many, who, deſtitute of all principle, really aimed at ſuch conſequences as have followed, and who have become the leaders or the actors in the atrocious crimes which have

been ſince perpetrated, and are now perpetrating. But there were ſome who really poſſeſſed honeſt intentions; but, dupes either to the others, or to their own heated imaginations, they raſhly and culpably ventured to riſk the repoſe and welfare of their country upon the caſual event of fantaſtick and untried ſpeculations. If ſuch perſons have not by this time opened their eyes, their blindneſs muſt be pronounced incurable. If there can be any who, not ſatisfied with the trial that the Conſtitution of 1789 has undergone, wiſh for another experiment of its effects, the prejudices of ſuch perſons may, without any injuſtice, be at once denominated madneſs, and that of the worſt kind.

Those who prefer a weak Government becauſe it is favourable to cabals, may be partial to the Conſtitution of 1789; but ſhould any other part of the Nation teſtify the leaſt diſpoſition to return to ſuch a ſyſtem, it can only be upon the like impulſion from which a drowning man catches at a twig. A ſlender ineffectual twig indeed it would prove, which, diſappointing your vain and momentary hope, would plunge you ſtill deeper in deſtruction. If, with all the advantage of novelty, and the prejudices of popular enthuſiaſm

thuſiaſm in its favour, it could not ſtand its ground when firſt eſſayed, how ſhould it acquire ſtability and permanence under all the diſadvantages it would now have to encounter, and after it has been found, upon experience, to be impracticable? A ſyſtem ſo feeble as to *produce only diſorder* in the early part of the Revolution, would ſcarcely be able to *reſtore order* when licentiouſneſs is grown into a habit. Can the ſcenes which are now acted, horrible as they are, efface the recollection of thoſe which accompanied the formation of this famous Conſtitution of 1789, which was founded in violence, in rapine and murder, as well as that of 1793*? The difference between thoſe ſcenes is rather in degree than in kind. The blood-thirſty howl of *Ariſtocrat* has indeed been exchanged for that of *Royaliſt*, and the proceſs of the *Lamp-Iron* for that of the *Guillotine*. But blood has ſtained all the leading events of the Revolution, and terror has been the main-ſpring of the whole. In vain do the advocates for this ſhort-lived evaneſcent Conſtitution boaſt the extorted ſanction of a nominal King.—If Louis had been in the plenitude of his

* It has been judiciouſly remarked in a periodical publication, that one part of the Revolution is to be diſtinguiſhed from another only as a different ſtage of the ſame proceſs; and that the commencement in 1789 has exactly the ſame relation to the conſummation in 1793, as the ſeed-time has to the har-

power,

power, his ſpontaneous ſanction would have been fundamentally invalid; — for a King of France, inſtead of being abſolute, had no right to compromiſe away the Laws and Conſtitution of the kingdom. But what could avail the ſanction of a captive Monarch, who, from the horrid day when he was dragged a priſoner to his capital, preceded by the bleeding heads of his murdered guards in ſavage and inſulting proceſſion, to that ſtill more horrid day which witneſſed his atrocious murder, knew not one hour of liberty, ſave when he made an unſucceſsful attempt to eſcape from his confinement—who, during all that time, was incapable of performing a ſingle act which could fairly be aſcribed to himſelf, except his endeavour to eſcape?—Such a ſanction, inſtead of ratifying or recommending, muſt ſurely operate as an additional condemnation of the ſyſtem in ſupport of which it was extorted. Then think no more, Oh unfortunate people of France, unleſs with horror, of a Conſtitution which has produced ſo much miſchief — which has been ſtained with ſo many crimes—which has engendered Republicans and Regicides—which was not only inapplicable to France, but incompatible with a ſtate of Civil Society — which was an attack upon every Government in Europe, by raiſing up a Revolutionary Power that is hoſtile to all Govern-

Government—and which, if it were now reſorted to, would produce perhaps a temporary calm—but ſuch a calm, as, without even the appearance of duration, denotes, in horrid gloom, the returning tempeſt.

But it is contended, that Great Britain has neither right nor intereſt to interfere in the Government of France, and that it would not be juſtifiable to continue the War for ſuch an object; and ſome perſons go the length of maintaining, that whether France have any Government or not, is not in any reſpect our concern. It is of great importance that juſt and accurate ideas ſhould be formed on this part of the ſubject before us.

It is certainly true as a general principle, that one State has no right to interfere in the Government of another. This is a principle which ſhould ever be held ſacred, and which the preſent War recognizes to its full extent. But there is another principle perfectly compatible with the former, and at leaſt of equal importance, namely, That it is the eſſential intereſt of every State that other States ſhall poſſeſs an eſtabliſhed and ſtable Government, for otherwiſe there would be no ſecurity whatever for the obſervance of the laws of Nations, and of the Stipulations of Treaties.

Europe

Europe muſt be conſidered as a large community compoſed of divers States, which are independent of each other in their internal concerns, but intimately connected in reſpect of their common intereſts. Their mutual harmony and the welfare of all are conſulted and promoted by ſuch connection, as are the harmony and happineſs of individuals by the connection ariſing out of Society. But the Governments at the head of the reſpective States are the only bond of their union, the only inſtruments by which that union can be formed and preſerved, and the only ſecurity for mutual reſpect and for an adherence to engagements. A Nation without a regular Government has not only no one to ſtipulate for it, but is a wild and chaotic maſs, deſtitute of all order and coherence, and independent of every rule and reſtraint. It is an univerſal nuiſance, and its vicinity is more noxious than that of the plague. Of theſe truths France has unhappily furniſhed the moſt lamentable and convincing proofs, and the War, which now rages with unexampled fury, brings with it a direful confirmation. If the extenſive territories of France were to be annihilated or ſwallowed up by the ocean which waſhes their ſhores, the ſyſtem of Europe would be unſettled, and its balance deſtroyed; great contention and diſorder would take place before a new

balance

balance could be gained, and no State would be ſure of preſerving its proper weight in the ſcale. But the Anarchy of France is infinitely more injurious to other States than her annihilation could be; and it would be productive of far leſs general calamity, were the whole country to be blotted out from the face of the globe than to become a ſource of general confuſion and revolt—a burning Volcano inceſſantly diſturbing other countries by its eruptions, and pouring forth its deſtructive lava in every direction.

It is therefore indiſpenſably neceſſary, both for the ſake of the political ſyſtem of Europe, and for the internal repoſe of its reſpective States, that France ſhould be ſubjected to regular Government. This is of courſe become a juſtifiable object of the War, which, as well as the horrors and perils which preceded our taking a part in it, aroſe from the abſence of ſuch a Government. And as the exiſtence of the War was on our part inevitable, ſo it is become a matter of neceſſity rather than of choice, to continue it until its cauſe be removed, that is, until the deſtruction of Anarchy and the eſtabliſhment of regular Government in France ſhall afford us a reaſonable expectation that we may be ſecure from future moleſtation,

and that the treaties which may be entered into by that country ſhall be valid and binding.

WITHOUT the interference of the Combined Powers for theſe objects, there does not ſeem any poſſibility that France ſhould be reſcued from that Anarchical Tyranny which has been ſo ruinous to herſelf and injurious to her neighbours, at leaſt before it ſhall have produced further miſchief, and that in a degree which defies all calculation, and perhaps all remedy.

JUSTIFIABLE, however, as that interference is rendered by the ſupreme law of ſelf-preſervation, it ought not to be carried beyond the neceſſity by which it is created and ſanctioned. It ſhould not be allowed to violate the independence of France, and thereby to wound thoſe principles which lie at the foundation of the independence of all States. The Allied Powers have certainly no right to dictate a Government to France. They have no right of judgment reſpecting the form of government which may beſt ſuit that country, nor to conſider for a moment whether this or that form be better or worſe as applied thereto. They are only entitled to inſiſt that a Government ſolid, ſtable, permanent, and reſponſible, ſhall be ſettled,

tled, and beyond that point their interference would be an unjuſt intruſion. Were they to aſſume a right to eſtabliſh the happineſs and liberties of France, they might uſe ſuch a pretext to cover their own views of ambition, and would at once deſtroy the political freedom of the country, and endanger that of every country. No idea can be more prepoſterous and repugnant than that of one State pretending to confer liberty on another. Such was the maſk under which the French Republicans carried havock, deſolation, and dependence, into the Auſtrian Netherlands, Holland, Germany, and Savoy; and every civilized State is intereſted to diſclaim a principle which in itſelf is unjuſt, and which is ſo liable to perverſion.

THE Allied Powers ought, however, to conſider very ſeriouſly whether their interference would not exceed the proper bounds, if it ſhould do more than contribute to reſtore the Monarchy of France, purely and ſimply. In aſſiſting the loyal part (which is unqueſtionably the greater part) of the French Nation to reſtore their lawful Sovereign to the throne of his anceſtors, they would do no more than what would be conſiſtent with honour, juſtice, and general policy — and what

it would be for the happineſs and ſecurity of their own States to be done with reſpect to themſelves, if their lawful authority had been obliged by rebellion to give place to deſolating Anarchy. Should the Monarchy of France be reinſtated by their aid, being founded in ancient right, it would not derive its authority from the aſſiſtance by which it is reſtored, but from antecedent title, and it would inſtantly reſume its original independence with regard to other States. But were any other Government to ariſe under their auſpices (ſuppoſing that any other could be rendered permanent), the Government of France, inſtead of being reſtored, would in a manner be made and preſcribed by a foreign force, and would neceſſarily ſtand in a kind of dependent connection on the Power by which it ſhould be eſtabliſhed. Thus would a manifeſt violation be made of the principle, that one State has no right to interfere in the internal government of another —the independence of France would be deſtroyed —that of other countries ſhaken—a ſource of future diſturbances and Revolutions would be opened—and the other Powers would not only defeat their grand object of eſtabliſhing general ſecurity on a ſolid and permanent baſis, but would alſo introduce a precedent which might at ſome

future

future time be *turned againſt themſelves.* In ſhort, the ſecurity of all Governments—the welfare of Society—the independence of France and of every other State—the repoſe of Europe and of mankind—the intereſt of the preſent age and of poſterity, ſeem to require that the French Revolution ſhould be terminated by the re-eſtabliſhment of that lawful authority, the ſubverſion of which has produced ſo many calamities.

PROCLAMATION

OF

LORD HOOD,

AND THE

CONSEQUENT SURRENDER OF TOULON.

THE ſurrender of the Town and Harbour of *Toulon* to the Britiſh Flag, the manner in which that event was brought about, together with its tendency and probable conſequences, are circumſtances at once too important and too auſpicious to be paſſed over in total ſilence. The military ſucceſſes of the war, however brilliant, are here ſurpaſſed by ſomething vaſtly more brilliant than all the advantages which it is in the power of Arms

Arms alone to accompliſh. The moſt exalted bravery—the exacteſt and ſteadieſt diſcipline—the greateſt generalſhip—the beſt fought battles—and the moſt deciſive victories, muſt yield the palm to that true magnanimity, that liberal and extenſive policy, that real and active benevolence, which ſo deſervedly gained the confidence of the Inhabitants of *Toulon*. To promote the great objects of the War, by offering an honourable deliverance to the country againſt which our Arms ſeem to be directed, and to aſſiſt in reſcuing that country from anarchy and ruin, while at the ſame time we conſult our own eſſential intereſts, are occurrences of rare and happy aſſemblage, and muſt infuſe into every generous breaſt the moſt refined tranſports;—occurrences which, unknown in the annals of mankind, were apparently reſerved to give a happy and deciſive turn to a War the moſt juſt and important that ever exiſted. Never did the Britiſh Flag appear to ſuch advantage as when it proclaimed friendſhip and aſſiſtance to the oppreſſed Inhabitants of the Southern Parts of France, and through them to their unfortunate countrymen. Let the opponents of the War read the Proclamation of the gallant Admiral, who, by his conduct and intrepidity on this occaſion, has added to the luſtre

of

of the Flag entruſted to his care: there they will ſee, that while the War is conducted in a manner that does honour to human nature, it has for its objects the ſolid eſtabliſhment of peace—the general ſecurity of Europe—the true intereſts of ſociety and humanity. The effect of this enterprize promiſes to be as advantageous as its deſign was grand, manly, and noble. Already has it deprived the enemy of his moſt important Port, with its invaluable appendages—crippled his Maritime force, and ſtripped him of one half of his Navy. It has given us the command of the Mediterranean Sea, and thereby not only furniſhed an effectual protection to our commerce in that part of the world, but afforded an opportunity of cutting off the reſources of the Power with whom we are at war. But theſe advantages, valuable as they are, fall ſhort of the beneficial effects which are likely to reſult from the example of the Inhabitants of *Toulon*; who, by the confidence they have been prevailed upon to repoſe in our offers and aſſurances, have teſtified to their ſuffering and deluded countrymen that the War is not carried on againſt the French people, but againſt their uſurping and rapacious tyrants—that a ſtrong protecting hand is generouſly extended to ſnatch them from oppreſſion

and

and anarchy—and that, without any danger of encroachment on their national dignity, rights, or independence, an honourable opportunity is offered them to regain the bleſſings of repoſe, order, and regular government. Upon the whole, nothing could be ſo admirably calculated as this expedition to bring the War to a ſpeedy and favourable concluſion. Nor can it be doubted that wiſe and proper meaſures will be taken to favour the operation of ſo important an event in accelerating, not merely the return of Peace, but its eſtabliſhment upon honourable terms, and upon a firm and durable baſis.

THE END.